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ARTICLE VI.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY
AT HERMANNSBURG, NORTH GERMANY.

WRITTEN FOR THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA BY PASTOR G. HACCIUS, DORFMARK,
NEAR HERMANNSBURG, GERMANY.

Translated by Professor Charles Harris, Ph. D., Carbondale, Illinois.

THE Hermannsburg missionary work is, to an almost unequalled degree, a personal one. Louis Harms, from whom this river of life flowed forth, was the chosen instrument of God. In his heart it rose by the Spirit of God, by his personality it was directed, and with the peculiar powers of his spiritual life it was filled. Its history, therefore, will not be intelligible without a glance at this man; and the early history of the Hermannsburg missionary work will be essentially his own early history.

Born in the period of Rationalism, on the fifth of May, 1808, at Walsrode, where his father, an earnest and estimable clergyman, was settled, he removed with his father, in 1817, to Hermannsburg, whither the latter had been transferred—a demoralized parish, in the midst of the Lüneburg Heath. Trained to labor and to control himself, to obey and to love the truth, he passed a favored childhood. He was characterized by great reverence, and by love for his home and village, by the fresh, courageous spirit of youth, and a frank, open nature. He studied with great industry, till 1824 at home, till 1827 at the Gymnasium in Celle, and then till 1830 at the University of Göttingen. Here he studied theology. Yet the lectures of the rationalistic professors did not satisfy him. He therefore sought to satisfy himself with philosophy, mathematics, physics, and the study of lan-

guage. Thus he studied Chaldee, Syriac, Sanscrit, etc. But his heart remained empty. Then the Lord stretched out his gracious hand towards him. "My teaching," says the Saviour, "is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself." So it was with Harms. That was his earnest effort. He strove with all his powers for a life of righteousness and purity; he *desired* to do God's will. Therefore he was permitted to perceive that, in the Holy Scriptures, he had to do with the divine revelation, which was not given to be criticised by an unbelieving intellect, but to be received by a believing heart. As, one night, he read the seventeenth of John, the divine light shone bright and clear into his soul. He then had inner experience of the truth and the divine power of the gospel. That was the hour of his new birth. He searched the Bible now with renewed earnestness and an enlightened spirit, and, after a brilliant examination, entered, well prepared, upon life. He had acquired rich and varied knowledge, and the conspicuously talented youth had become the thoroughly educated minister. But, above all, he was a true believer, with the glow of the first love in his heart, and he desired nothing so much as to serve his Lord and Saviour and to be found among his true followers. In such a spirit he accepted a position as family tutor in Lauenburg. He labored here with great faithfulness in his calling, but was not satisfied with this. "Can man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned?" The sacred passion of grateful love to his Redeemer filled his heart, and powerfully urged him on to activity for the kingdom of God. He helped the poor, he visited the prisoners, and, in the time of an epidemic of cholera, he fearlessly attended the sufferers. By advice of Mr. Richter, of Barmen, Inspector of Missions, he began to distribute missionary publications, and to hold missionary meetings. "From this time," writes his brother and biographer, "his whole heart was devoted to the missionary work." When he was indicted for holding "conventicles,"

and even threatened with imprisonment, he was not alarmed, but declared fearlessly that on leaving the prison he should go on immediately with the meetings. Thus he preached by word and deed, and no one despised his youth, but there formed about him a circle which exhibited an exceedingly attractive fellowship of faith and love, far removed from every touch of sentimental Pietism such as was common in so many religious circles at the time, exercising evangelical love, but with genuine Lutheran sobriety and common-sense. His later letters to his friends in Lauenburg give us precious glimpses of this fellowship. The missionary festivals formed occasions of great joy, the first of which was held as early as 1835. Louis Harms gave the missionary report, and it is so significant that we cannot avoid quoting certain fragments of it here :—

If we have a living faith, and if the morning star of salvation has arisen upon our hearts hitherto so poor, we shall no more love the things of this world and its kingdoms, but the great kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ will become the chief interest of our hearts, and it will be our one burning wish that all lands become full of his glory. . . . We are twice obligated to the heathen who have no Saviour. All the kingdoms are by no means yet become the kingdoms of our Lord, and darkness covers the earth, and thick darkness the peoples. They live and die still in the frightful abominations of sin, and have no means of escape—a bitter reproach for the Christian to whom the Lord has entrusted the extension of his kingdom. . . . We live in a great, powerful time, when the kingdom of God advances with giant strides. Well is it with him who does not linger behind. . . . Therefore, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and for his glory, humbly recognizing that all our work is without merit, but in faith looking unto the mighty Lord, to whom alone belongs both to will and to do, and in obedience to his holy word, let us open our hearts to prayer and our hands in gifts for those who are far off as well as those who are nigh. The Lord graciously grant this!

Can we not recognize in these words the beating of the heart of the great missionary leader?

In a similar way he labored in Lüneburg. He finds there many friends, but is also compelled to endure much enmity. Hence at times even the pulpit was refused him. Attention had now been attracted to him even at a distance. In 1842 he was requested by the well-known Wyneken to come to North America as pastor. The missionary Dr. Schmidt

wished to take him to the East Indies. The officers of the Hamburg Missionary Society were the most earnest in their request that he should enter the Seminary of the North German Missionary Society of that place as an instructor, but the Lord had selected him for another post. Michaelmas, 1843, he returned to Hermannsburg in order to take charge of the private school of his father. In November, 1844, he became his father's colleague, and when in 1848 the father died, he was made his successor at the earnest request of the congregation.

Before we pass to the description of this period of his life, we beg permission to premise certain particulars as to the country and its people. The whole surroundings were a scene exactly calculated for the appearance of the man. For that reason the Lord placed him here. Upon the Lüneburg Heath, with its scattered villages and homelike farms, there is, to be sure, little wealth, but universal plenty with the farmer, and even with the cottager. Forty years ago great simplicity prevailed everywhere. The people were content with a little, and avarice was much less common than in richer districts. This has not remained so, we must confess, and yet it is still much better than in other regions. On account of the long journeys which the inhabitants are accustomed to make over field and meadow, through heath and forest, to church and school, they are trained to great activity, and by the quiet life which they lead on the solitary farms a more reflective and pious disposition is cultivated. Above all, there still remained much of the old faith of the fathers. To be sure, Rationalism controlled the pulpit, and a dry morality with extended moral precepts, the school. But in the homes the old prayer-books and the old Lutheran postils were still gladly and frequently used. So, under the ashes of Rationalism, many a coal still glowed. Now came the fresh spiritual breath from Hermannsburg and blew far over the heath. It penetrated to the coals and breathed upon them, and the flames burst forth. Twenty years later the situation would not have been so favorable. It was just the right time when

the Lord gave this servant of his to the church, and the right place where he put him, and we may recognize therein his wisdom and his mercy. Thus everything was ready: the field and the hero.

But how came Louis Harms to found a missionary society? He had within him and preached the living faith, and through his preaching thousands were awakened to a living faith, that is, to that faith which love makes active. Missionary contributions flowed in abundantly, and soon living hearts were willing to offer themselves. Converted youths came to him and tendered their services. He wrote to the existing missionary societies, but there was nowhere room. However, he could not and would not turn these youths away. It happened that, at this time, the Hamburg Missionary Society broke up, was withdrawn to Reformed Bremen, and became more and more Reformed in character. Louis Harms had become thoroughly Lutheran in sentiment. For this reason he could no longer work with this society, to which he had heretofore chiefly devoted his energies. And, when, at this time, there came to him from some of his first missionary friends the request that he would found a missionary society, he did not hesitate. Impelled by the love of Christ, moved by the zeal of his friends, led by the Spirit of God, and knowing clearly that the Lord willed it, he began his work with lively courage and joyful faith. At a missionary festival in Celle he expressed himself thus: "I shall in God's name establish a missionary society in Hermannsburg, and have not a penny for that purpose. With how many students shall I begin? Three or four? No: with twelve; for His is all gold and silver." In this way his missionary society originated.

And what did he intend to do? What were his guiding principles? Above all things he wished to do nothing. His institution was far different from so many human institutions of modern Christendom. He preached the gospel, and out of it everything came of itself. The stream was too strong and too deep to be confined to any existing channel;

therefore it cut for itself a new and unconfined course in its own bed. So when he was driven from within and without to the founding of his own society, he laid firm hold of five principles: 1. His society was to be a Lutheran missionary society. 2. He would not prepare learned missionaries, but, as thoroughly as possible, men of the people. 3. He would send them out along with colonists, that there might be at once at hand a parish as a gathering-point. 4. This parish was to be an organized and self-ruling one. 5. He would unite his missionary society with his Church.

It was not his purpose to transplant the denominational strife at home into heathendom and to enlighten the heathen about doctrinal differences; such foolishness was far from him. But whatever had been given to us in our Lutheran Church by the grace of the Holy Ghost, whatever had been won for us by the struggles and labors of the fathers, was to be made known to the heathen, not in the form of Lutheran dogmatics, but in the simplicity and clearness of the Lutheran catechism and according to the Lutheran liturgy. In his missionary sermon of 1854 he himself said:—

And shall we then bury in the earth the talent which we have, and fail to carry this treasure to the seven hundred millions of heathen who know not of it? We should then not be fit to live. Our Lutheran Church is especially a missionary church, because it has the true word and sacrament; and we should be unworthy to be called Lutherans, if we did not carry on the work of our holy mission with all our might. The Reformed Church is prosecuting its missionary work too, and, in many respects, puts us to shame; therefore we regard the members of the Reformed Church as our brethren, wish them well in their missionary work, and pray for them; but we consider their doctrine wrong in many points, and wish to remain unentangled with it. So much the more ought our Reformed brethren to stir us up to zeal in bringing the glory of our Lutheran Church and of her pure word and sacrament to the heathen.

This point of view is correct and worthy of approval. That development through which the church has passed must remain passed for its converts. And if the church has been led to a well-lighted hill and has settled there, it must teach and rear its children upon that height, and not gather them together at its foot; for, in that case, they would have to travel again that weary way upwards. For that reason the

Lutheran Church must carry on Lutheran missions; and the preaching of the gospel, the teaching of the converts, the administering of the sacraments, and the regulation of the services and of the congregation, must be in accordance with the clearness and truth of the Lutheran confession and of the freedom and restraint of the Lutheran church-discipline. In this Harms went the way upon which the leaders of the Lutheran Church—Petri in Hannover, Harless, Thomasius, Delitzsch, and others—had preceded him, and which had led in the year 1836 to the founding of the Leipzig Missionary Society.

In regard to the qualifications of the missionaries he did not pattern after the sister missionary society, but went his own way. It was the practice of the Leipzig Society to send to the heathen only persons who had been thoroughly trained in theology; but now it too has come down from such a height, and trains its messengers only in a missionary seminary. His practical sense made L. Harms see that it would be better not to set the mark too high, lest but little assistance could be had. It is seldom that a German theological student says, "Here am I, send me." For the most part it is the common people who offer themselves, and they are in many respects the better fitted. They can more easily endure physical hardships and overcome external difficulties; they can hew and build, sow and reap, and the missionary must understand all that. And so it seemed best to him to train peasants and mechanics for missionaries. This training was to be thorough, of course, but not burdensome. On that account they were to learn of foreign languages only the necessary one, the English; in addition, however, they were to be thoroughly instructed in the Holy Scriptures and the catechism, in the doctrines and ordinances of the Lutheran Church, in practical theology, in church hymnology, and in music, and were to be brought up to obedience and diligent labor.

Harms had one plan, in particular, in which he agreed with the conduct of missions in the middle ages. In those times a band of monks, priests, and laymen would go out, found

their monasteries and settlements in heathen lands, and from them cultivate and christianize the surrounding regions. In a similar way, Louis Harms wished to send out a small company of missionaries and colonists, who should remain together at first and make settlements in common; the colonists caring for temporal things, and the missionaries devoting themselves entirely to the conversion of the heathen. In 1851 Harms writes:—

The first ones are to remain together in one place and settle there, in order to be strong enough by their common efforts to labor with the heathen and to gain their own living. They are capable of this, inasmuch as they have been trained to agriculture and all the necessary trades and know how to carry them on. This is similar to the procedure of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, who were the teachers of our German ancestors in both spiritual and temporal things. If a heathen community forms about them, then two or three of them must remain with it, and the others shall move on, not a hundred or ten, but one, two, or three (German) miles, and do the same thing again there. And those who leave here later, will, on their arrival, at once have employment, and can work for their own support, until they have learned the language. Then they too can take possession of suitable situations which lie near, so that in a short time a whole land will be covered with a net of missionary stations, and peoples will be converted and armed with Christian training and customs, so that they can successfully resist the destructive pressure of Europeans and not become a sacrifice to them, as has been the case heretofore almost everywhere.

Harms purposed to save in this way not merely individual souls, but nations. He thought to make this little Christian community an enduring nucleus at which the missionaries who went forth might receive support, about which the communities of converts might gather, and from which they could at once receive definite rules of government. Therefore Harms gave to his first company a constitution. Their parish was to be the mother parish of the mission. One of the missionaries was to be pastor of this parish, and the others were to assist him as deacons. The direction of the affairs of the church in the parish was to belong to the pastor. The missionary council, which was to consist of all the missionaries, had jurisdiction in all things pertaining to the spreading of the church among the heathen. So far as church affairs concerned the civil life of the parish, the latter was to be repre-

sented by two men whom it elected. They were to form the parish vestry under the presidency of the pastor. Within their jurisdiction were to come the church and school buildings, the care of the poor and the sick, and the exercise of church-discipline. The municipal administration and the police were to be in the hands of a magistrate, who was to be chosen by the laity of the parish. The parish-meeting was to be presided over by a chairman, who was likewise to be chosen by the parish. The court was to consist of a judge, appointed by the director of the society, and of two justices, elected by the parish, and was to render its decisions in open session. Above all these, however, was to be the director of the missionary society, as a court of last resort. A report was to be made to him yearly and his regulations were to be obeyed.

In the beginning of the just-mentioned constitution it is said: "The Lutheran company which we now send to Eastern Africa is a part of the Lutheran Church of Hannover." Harms was opposed to the separate existence of missionary societies. He was a man of the church, and therefore it was his dearest wish to unite the missionary society which he had founded with the Established Lutheran Church of Hannover, or rather embody it in it. When the training of the first students was completed, he requested the authorities over him, the Consistory of Hannover, to examine and ordain them, but received a refusal. That was a great mistake. They should have consented at once to this attempt at union and to this desire to receive the sanction of the Church. While the next nearest consistory, the one at Stade, was hesitating, the Consistory of Osnabrück offered to do the desired service. Then the Consistory of Stade declared its willingness, and examined and ordained the students from Hermannsburg, till in 1857 the proper authorities in Hannover took charge of the matter. But Harms had hoped for more; he writes in the year 1854:—

I should have liked to see one other wish fulfilled, namely this, to see the Consistory of Stade, which has ordained our missionaries, made the governing body of the church which is to be established in Africa by our missionaries,

with God's help. That consistory was ready and willing to consent to my wish, but it was not considered proper in higher places, and consequently the Lord's time for it has probably not yet come.

The then Minister of Public Worship considered it impracticable—why, we do not know. If all had consented to Harms' request, how differently the crisis of 1878–79 would have resulted! And yet, perhaps, it was well for the mission that it did not come under the direction of the bureaucracy of the authorities of the Established Church. Nevertheless, Harms' endeavor is worthy of all respect. It is a thoroughly correct idea that the foreign as well as the home missions should bear the stamp of the church, and be not the affair of an individual or of an association, but the concern of the whole church.

Even during Harms' first activity in Hermannsburg, but especially after the founding of his own missionary society, the mission fund increased continuously. The receipts amounted—

In the year 1854 to.....	15,000 Thaler.
“ “ “ 1858 “.....	31,000 “
“ “ “ 1862 “.....	(about) 40,000 “
“ “ “ 1865 “.....	40,618 “

So rapidly and so high did the gifts run up. And yet there were never debts, but each year a surplus, which is, moreover, not counted among the receipts of the following year. In his report at the missionary festival of 1854, Harms says:—

How then has all this money come together? Did we beg for it? No; the Lord says: There shall be no beggar among you; there is none in this parish; and should I myself then be one? I have not begged, have not asked any one for a gift for our mission. I have begged of only one, of my dear Lord Jesus, have often and loudly knocked there, and he has given the beggar rich gifts.

And thus Harms always did. He never begged for money, either in his missionary paper or in his sermons. He never sent collectors through the country and never arranged for collections. Indeed, the collection-box was not once set out at the missionary festivals in Hermannsburg. He wished to avoid even the slightest appearance of human agency; all should be the fruits of a love born of God. Neither were lists

of the gifts published in the missionary sheet, in order not to encourage vanity. Most of the gifts were brought to his house, and in this way there arose a personal relation between him and the giver. His manner in regard to these gifts impressed the simple minds of the peasants very much, and they came willingly and brought him their savings; laborers their silver, peasants their gold, widows their mites, and children their baptismal presents. There were many among them to whom the saying of our Lord applies, But this one cast in all that she had. Harms tells very delightful stories of such sacrifices. In it all there was a joyfulness and desire to give, which were heart-refreshing and which must have come from a lively interest in missions. And how did he strengthen this interest? Chiefly by his powerful and faithful prayers with his parish and in his closet, and by his mighty sermons.

He was steadfast in prayer. In the public services he prayed often upon his knees. And how his plain and simple spontaneous prayers rose up to heaven! And how often he prayed alone! How faithfully did he make intercession for others! In his closet he often wrestled with the Lord in prayer, and because of his great compassion for the heathen, and in childlike trust in his Saviour, he dared to be bold in asking. The fire thus kindled spread; the people learned to pray from him. And although there was many a mere imitator in his parish, there were also many who prayed earnestly.

And how deeply his sermons took root! He preached much and long. He explained his text simply and plainly, without human wisdom and eloquence, and made clear the way of life thereby. Nor did he ever lose sight of the chief matter; the saving of souls and the bringing up of his parish in Christian ways. He preached at the Sunday and week-day services, in the church and at his house, where he gave on Sunday evening the first Low-German Bible instruction. The missionary festival of two days occurred yearly at the festival of St. John. The first day was celebrated at church, the second at various places outdoors. Then the throng made a

pilgrimage, to the sound of singing and of trumpets, to the shady farm of some peasant or other. Thousands streamed in, and the multitude gathered under mighty oaks at the place of the festival. There was much singing, and servants of God from all lands preached. Louis Harms opened and closed the meeting and looked after everything in his calm, quiet way. Then he often gave free rein to his exquisite humor, but nevertheless always kept himself and the great assembly in the bounds of decorum. Those were days when the people drank joyfully of the water of life. The assembled thousands, touched and moved, went their way and carried the seed into their homes; and there the seed sprang up and bore much fruit. So the interest in missions spread from place to place, and more and more into the neighboring states, and there arose a wide-spread "missionary parish." But he liked also to visit the missionary festivals in other parishes, whenever he was invited. Then he always preached the chief sermon, and did not become tired, although he was overloaded with labor, and demands were made upon him from all sides. He declined only when the journey was so great that he would have to absent himself from his parish longer than three days. He never did that and also never allowed himself a period of relaxation and recreation.

He carried on an extended correspondence, and willingly answered every one who applied to him or sent him gifts. He did not use many words in his letters, but wrote briefly and concisely. But he came in that way into personal intercourse with many, and gained a large list of personal acquaintances, whom he kept in his tenacious memory. He exercised great influence through his writings, especially through his "Sermons from the Gospels and Epistles," which have already appeared in nine editions and are a real treasure of our people. From 1854 on he issued a missionary paper of his own. The most important volumes are the first, which are entirely from his hand, while the later ones are chiefly taken up with the reports of the missionaries.

These sheets went forth among the people like a fresh wind

in spring and fanned the fires of love. He understood thoroughly how to relate incidents and could express himself in a popular way, as could few others. And then he had especially the gift of bringing forth old anecdotes and applying them in a striking way. Under such care the interest in missions grew from year to year, and all the contempt and mockery which were poured out so abundantly upon Hermannsburg could not extinguish it again.

Louis Harms conducted the mission work himself and had pretty much unrestricted sway. This is readily comprehensible, inasmuch as the society was his own work. In the year 1856 the institution was given a legal existence by King George V. Its statutes were revised and approved. In regard to its financial government the institution was placed under the charge of the Consistory of Hannover, to which an abstract of its accounts has to be sent yearly. The conduct of the affairs of the society, both at home and abroad, particularly the determination of the territory of the missions, the appointment of the heads of the families and the teachers, and the reception of students, belong exclusively to the director of the institution. To assist him there is a committee of ten or twelve persons, partly clerical, partly lay, among whom there must be one jurist. In the above-mentioned affairs the committee can only advise, in financial matters its decision is final. Each member of the committee has one vote, and the director of the institution four. Pastor Harms chose the members of the committee and also his own successor. The committee now has the right to make this choice. The first committee consisted of six clergymen, one jurist, and five members of the parish of Hermannsburg. Louis Harms was assisted in the affairs of the mission by his brother Theodore, who acted as inspector of the mission-house. And although they were otherwise quite different, they always agreed with regard to the affairs of the mission. When the mission-house was first opened this faithful brother became inspector and teacher, and remained such until his appointment in the year

1857 as pastor of Müden, which lies not far distant. He devoted himself to the teaching and training of the pupils with great zeal and faithfulness; he not only taught them, but also lived entirely with them. He writes:—

Mine was therefore the task of instructing the students in the Scriptures, the creed of the church, and all those subjects which assist in understanding the Scriptures. I had also to adjust the hours of study and of physical labor, so that the students might keep well and be able to take care of themselves among the heathen. . . . Many shook their heads at it all and said, "What will our stupid peasant boys bring to pass when they are missionaries?" But we did not let ourselves be led astray; we trusted in the living God and knew the peasant youths of Lüneburg. . . . I found great pleasure in sharing the physical labor of my students. How we argued, recited, and sang at it! My brother felt the greatest satisfaction in this way of doing. To labor with all one's might, to pray with all one's soul—that was his life and his joy, and he rejoiced much because the young people of the mission-house imitated him in so doing. The work went on merrily.

The mission-house is situated near the clear Örtze, which flows through Hermannsburg. An unfinished farm-house with about ten acres of land was bought. This was soon increased by an additional ten acres. The completion of the house and the erection of outbuildings were attended to by the students, and the land was cultivated by them in their spare hours. Afterwards the property of the society was greatly increased. This increase was, however, not the result of any previously made plan. As there was need, the buildings were extended in the plainest manner. As early as 1854 there was added a whole farm which lay near to the mission-house. The farm belonged to a newly married peasant named Behrens. He had wished to enter the missionary service before, but had not obtained the paternal consent, because he was the heir. His father changed his mind upon his death-bed; therefore the son and his family became inmates of the mission-house, and he gave the whole farm to the society. "My brother and I were long opposed to it . . . but he would not be refused . . . and so we took possession of the farm in the name of the Lord, with song, prayer, and the reading of God's word. . . . Inasmuch as we have taken possession of the farm with all its belongings, but also

with all its charges and indebtedness, we shall have increased burdens, expenses, and labor during the first years. On that account we have accepted the present with trembling. In the end, however, we may expect a rich blessing with God's gracious help; for the farm is so large that, when everything has been put in order and the uncultivated parts brought under cultivation, our society will be able to support itself hence, and all our means may be used for the missionary stations in heathen lands. On our part, therefore, it has been nothing but the feeling, that it is our duty not to refuse a gift of the Lord, that has led us to accept it. If then our shoulders, and especially my weak ones, do not break down under the burden and labor caused by our new gift, it is comforting, in view of my perhaps not distant death, to know that the work will not cease, since it no longer depends upon individuals."

Since the influx of new pupils was constantly greater (in the year 1860 about one hundred young people applied), Harms determined in the same year, after due deliberation, to build a second mission-house. For that purpose he used the surplus of the preceding three years, which amounted to about seven thousand thaler. In the beginning he had received twelve students at the mission-house; in 1858 he had doubled their number. He took twenty-four students at the new house also. The young people had to have the necessary physical and mental capacity and be free from military duty. Before their reception they had generally to pass through a period of probation; that is, they had to remain two years in Hermannsburg and to attend the school for candidates at that place. If they passed through the time of probation satisfactorily they were accepted. After being trained for one year they were examined and ordained by the Consistory of Hannover, and were commissioned and sent forth by the parish at public divine service in the church at Hermannsburg. At first the companies were sent out every four years; after the opening of the new house every two years, since the students at the latter were instructed by their own

inspector in a special course, and the first of them were sent out two years after those who had preceded them from the other house.

The first company was to be sent out in 1853. But how was this to be accomplished? Harms had planned that they should be taken by trading-vessels, but there was no direct traffic with the land of his choice. Then God brought it to pass that in the year 1852 twelve Christian young men from the German marine—some, sailors, some, mechanics—made application at Hermannsburg, and wished to go to Africa and open the way for missions there. They were the cause of the building of a missionary ship. After the attempt to get means of transportation for the missionaries had failed time and again, one of these sailors said to Harms, "Why do you not build a ship yourself?" and showed that the saving in sending out a few companies would amount to about as much as the entire cost of building a ship, and that the ship at other times could be made to pay its own expenses by carrying freight. Harms saw that clearly, but he did not begin the work without consideration. He corresponded exhaustively with regard to the project with his faithful and experienced friends, the merchant Nagel, of Hamburg, and the harbor-master Stürge of Harburg. In the missionary paper (volume for 1854, page 24) he writes:—

At this time I struggled and wrestled with God very often, for no one favored the project, all opposed it. Even my dearest friends and brothers thought that my head was cracked and that I was no longer in my right mind. . . . What was I to do? I had knocked at many doors in order to find another way, but they were closed. The plan was evidently good, and was, moreover, for the glory of God. The short way is the best way. I prayed fervently to the Lord, laid the matter in his hands, and then I arose from my prayer, and at midnight in my quiet room spoke out so loudly, in the fulness of my heart, that I was almost frightened at my own voice: "Now onward, in God's name." From that time on there came into my heart no thought of doubting or hesitating.

He writes to Stürge on the tenth of December, 1852:—

At last it has come to acting. I am in my element. The work has been begun with the Lord; it shall be completed in his name. The time for hesitation has passed for me; now boldly to the work. . . . I shall send you

the money as soon as you ask for it. God will surely provide all at the proper time. My dear brother, your burden will be heavy, but I willingly give it to you to bear, for you love the Lord Jesus, and he is with us and with the work. Amen.

In the year 1853, the ship, a neat brig, was ready. The trusty merchant Nagel, of Hamburg, attended to the equipment, and soon all was ready for the departure. The ship was consecrated by L. Harms at a solemn service. It was provided with Christian rules, and under the name of the "Candace," set out to sea and carried the first missionaries over to Africa. The boldness of this undertaking and its surprising success created the greatest sensation far and wide. Without the slightest solicitation, to which, moreover, Harms was opposed, gifts for his ship streamed into the treasury, some even from Russia and America. There is no doubt that Harms and all his "missionary parish" were strengthened and supported by this occurrence. This experience of God's favor was like a fresh wind at sea. "The Lord has been so gracious," he writes in his missionary paper, "that if you were to ask me whether I prayed or gave thanks more in this affair, I should have to say to my own shame, 'I prayed often, but I gave thanks still oftener.'" The ship was not to be insured; "to do so were to act not according to faith but according to reason, to say nothing of the expense." The Candace was insured by the Lord, and under his protection her voyages passed off well. Several times she was mercifully saved from the greatest danger by his wonderful hand. And yet Harms had to suffer because of the Candace. His first captains were a source of bitter experience, until he found in Captain Plaass a capable and trustworthy man, who commanded the Candace until she was sold. It was also discovered that she had been built too short. She was therefore made longer by the insertion of twenty feet, at one of the English ports. Harms' purpose was to use the Candace, as far as possible, for the benefit of all the German missionary societies. He did not wish to use her for trading trips. She was to make the voyage out and back

yearly, in order to be of service to all the German societies, and was to touch at all points where there were German missionaries. "This is our purpose. We commend her to God and wish her to be of service to all the German brethren." It is true that this plan was not realized, but the Candace did assist other societies by taking missionaries out.

Two of the first twelve students had become unfaithful, and two had died; so at Michaelmas, 1853, but eight young men were ready to be sent out. Eight colonists were to go with them. The celebration of their commission on October 20 was solemn. On October 28 the brethren set out to sea bravely and joyfully. "The Lord filled me with unusual joy, so that I myself do not know how it came to pass that my heart rejoiced almost without ceasing when I was leaving," writes Missionary Strube on board the ship. The ship ran into the harbor of Zanzibar on Easter day, 1854. It had always been a favorite thought of Harms to send his missionaries to the Gallas, a wild, vigorous race of Eastern Africa. Land and people had been several times described in a very attractive way. Moreover, the attention of Christian circles in Germany had been directed to this people by a converted Galla girl, who was instructed and baptized at Kornthal. To whom will it seem strange that this vigorous race became of especial concern to the vigorous man? His whole soul was filled with the thought of going to the Gallas. The way into their land passes through the territory of the sultan of Zanzibar; therefore the missionaries had to apply to him first. He had ordered that no European should pass through his state. By the aid of his son they received permission to go to Mombas, but were strictly forbidden to step upon the mainland. They met with opposition at Mombas also, although the well-known missionary Rebmann, who was there at the time, interceded for them. The English consul even gave them no support. It was discovered later that merchants of Hamburg were, we regret to say, partly to blame for this refusal. They had fears for their trade, because the missionary society had a ship. Moreover, it is a sad observation to make that Ger-

man traders, as a class, have shown but little interest in missions.

But our Hermannsburg missionaries did not wish to go back without having risked one trial. Three of them, therefore, pressed forward into the interior for several days. They got as far as Rebmann's station among the Wanikas. But this attempt to go to the Gallas was also in vain. Because they had in this way transgressed the command of the sultan, the Arabian governor was very angry at them, and the ship had to leave the harbor of Mombas on St. John's day. With heavy hearts the missionaries now decided to go back to Southern Africa. Some of them were indeed of the opinion that they ought to force their way through to the Gallas, even if it cost them their lives; but most of them were prudent enough to see that the door was closed. Two things were decisive for them: the positive advice of the experienced Rebmann to begin their mission among the Kaffirs, and from there to repeat later the attempt to establish the Galla mission, which was now impracticable; and, secondly, the consideration that they were not only to be missionaries, but also colonists, and were to establish themselves at once as a community among the heathen. Consequently they had to do not only with spiritual but also with earthly concerns, and therefore owed obedience to the authority which forbade their settlement. Harms was of a different opinion. It is true that he did not find fault with his missionaries, but gave his approval to their actions, but it was a great grief to him. He would have liked it best if they had not let themselves be frightened away. His strong faith and his energy would have shrunk from no sacrifice, if only he had gone thereby to the Gallas. Therefore he did not rest until he had made a second trial in the year 1858. He chose for it the missionaries Filter, Prigge, and Klassen, together with three colonists. They set out to sea with the song, "Where God doth lead me I will go, and choose not whither." Missionary Klassen died on the way, and one of the colonists was sick for a long time. They tried to land in the bay of Formosa, to find the mouth

of some river, and so force their way to the Gallas by water or by land—but in vain. At Zanzibar the missionary Rebmann greeted them joyfully. The sultan and the English consul were no longer alive, and he hoped that they had come at a good time. As the *Candace* had to go back, Filter and Prigge took up their abode in Zanzibar and diligently studied the Suaheli language, which is spoken on the eastern coast of Africa. They tried also to get permission to make a settlement. All endeavors to enlist the favor of the sultan and the new English consul, and also Rebmann's faithful assistance, were without result. On that account, when the *Candace* came back, the two missionaries went back to Natal with her. So then this second trial also had failed, and it became clear that men's thoughts had not been God's thoughts. It is indeed said, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations," but the history of missions shows, time and again, that men cannot seek out the nations according to the purposes of their own hearts, but that they must often let themselves be led whither they do not wish to go, for the Lord often closes the way to the place where they would be. He does this, so that no man can be proud in the presence of the Lord, as if his doings were the result of his own purposes. He does this, because He only can understand the development of nations and because He makes all history here on earth. Very often is applicable to a missionary church the saying: "Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come." Fortunate is the church if it can then say to its servants, "Whatsoever He says unto you, do it." Thus it was in this case. His servants did what the Lord had said unto them; they went to the negroes of Southern Africa and filled the water-pots with water, and the Lord has already made much wine therefrom.

On the advice of the Berlin missionary Posselt in New Germany, they tried, with the assistance of the Norwegian missionary Schreuder, who had great influence with the Zulu king Umpanda, to get permission to start a mission in Zululand. But this attempt did not succeed for the time being.

Then the missionary Posselt undertook to get, by means of the English government, consent for them to settle in Natal. But the proper official, who was incited to it by the captain of the *Candace*, refused every place desired. The faithful and untiring Posselt then advised them to buy a place, and arranged the business himself. Near the Zulu boundary he bought a piece of ground of 6,018 acres for 600 pounds sterling. The little community soon settled there. This place became not only a point of departure for the Hermannsburg mission in Southern Africa, but also its centre, and therefore it received from the brethren the name of New Hermannsburg. Posselt wrote to Harms that the only thing possible for them to do was to buy property. It was also for the best, and was approved by him and all right-thinking Englishmen. By this means they were made independent of the authorities, and could do their work according to the plans which might appear most judicious to them. He himself had chosen the place according to his best judgment. They could easily earn their own support there, could reach many of the heathen, and would not come into collision with other missions.

The establishing of the station was at first a source of many difficulties for the brethren, but they carried on their work joyfully and zealously. Then several of them went back to Posselt to continue their study of the language, which they had begun immediately after their arrival. Some of them stayed at a Kaffir kraal for some weeks, in order to become more thoroughly acquainted with the people and their language by living among them. To their great encouragement the English government now kindly intervened in their behalf. Lord Shepstone, who had charge of the affairs of the natives there, wrote to the English official in Umvoti:—

I beg you to grant all assistance in your power to the undertaking of the Hannoverian missionaries, and to visit the missionaries yourself without delay, and assure them of the sincere support of the government in case they carry on their work in a satisfactory manner. Say further to the leading chiefs in your district that they are to use all their influence to induce their people to send their children to the mission-school; and, in order that the chiefs may gain confidence, let them accompany you when you visit the missionaries.

The Dutch government also granted them kindly support when they came into contact with it later.

As early as the following year they had the joy of instructing some of the heathen and of being permitted to baptize four of them. The day on which the baptism took place was a real festival for the little circle. They had not been premature in administering the rite of baptism. They write with regard to that point:—

When we are once thoroughly acquainted with the Kaffir language, we shall not so long delay baptism, as we have done this time. We shall baptize them at their own earnest request, if they have been aroused by our preaching, without demanding so much knowledge of them as these have already acquired. We have indeed learned that instruction must really begin after baptism, as the directions which we brought with us have laid down.

With regard to the baptism of heathen, Harms expressed his principles in the following words:—

With respect to the baptism of the Kaffir mother I remark that for the baptism of adult heathen the following things are necessary: 1. The sincere desire for baptism in order to be saved and not for other considerations. 2. The knowledge of the ten commandments and the consciousness of their violation. 3. The knowledge of the three articles of faith and the *fides historica*. 4. The certainty that the circumstances give promise that after baptism Christian instruction can be continued, and church and Christian fellowship maintained.

Inasmuch as four other heathen families, who could be baptized, came to Hermannsburg soon after, they began their school-work. With regard to this, Harms had instructed them that they should build up the missions by preaching and not by means of the school, and that the school should be an outgrowth of the church when the latter had been built up by preaching and by baptism.

The brethren lived together as bachelors till in November, 1856, when the Candace brought them their betrothed wives. On the twenty-fifth of November there was a great wedding feast. With reference to the marriage question Harms had applied to Posselt, in order to get the opinion of an experienced missionary. The latter answered:—

As regards the marriage or celibacy of missionaries in general and of your children here in particular, I agree with you entirely. For a missionary who

is sent out to an unknown country and must clear the way, it is certainly better, indeed I might say absolutely necessary, to go without a wife. Failure and death, if such must be, would then be very easy for him. Only unmarried missionaries should have gone to the Gallas in the first place. But here in Natal, where your missionaries have a fixed abode and where they are under the protection of Christian authorities, (and that signifies much,) I beg you to permit every one to marry who will. Life here is so monotonous, the hearts of the heathen so hard, and cold, and inaccessible, the love of even the converted Kaffirs so African in its inertness, that an unmarried missionary must necessarily sink into a condition of friendlessness and joylessness. I do not fail to appreciate the fact that your missionaries have in this respect a great advantage over us and others, because they form a little Christian community of Germans, and that is a very great blessing. But they are nevertheless in a heathen land and surrounded by heathen, and cannot all remain at one place and must soon live singly among the heathen.

Harms found his own views confirmed by this letter. And while he would not permit the betrothal of any of his pupils at the mission-house, he carefully arranged matters so that they could marry after they were sent out.

By the spring of 1856 the missionaries had separated. While Strube and Schröder remained at Hermannsburg, Schütze and Hohls founded the station of Ehlanzeni in the territory of the chief Somakashe, and Cohrs and Meyer the station Etembeni in the territory of Chief Umpakata. They worked at these three stations with great longing for success. But progress was slow, and was almost entirely restricted to the Kaffirs laboring at the stations. This had its cause in the manner of their procedure, and in the character of the people, and the circumstances of the heathen among whom they worked. A brisk trade with the natives began at once, because the missionaries and colonists were expected to make a settlement in common. The whole station had to be laid out on a large scale, large buildings had to be erected, and the cultivation of the land in union with all sorts of mechanical occupations was begun. These business affairs demanded much time and strength. The missionaries complained about it greatly, and this communism was afterwards given up.

On the other hand, the Kaffirs of Natal had but little desire for salvation; and the strong, violent Zulus to whom our

missionaries soon went, still less. They lived in scattered kraals. The government made it a matter of policy to separate them as much as possible. Besides, the heathen often changed their dwelling-place, and it sometimes happened that a station established near a kraal would be entirely isolated after a little while. The missionaries therefore tried to attach as many as possible of the laboring Kaffirs to their stations, and the union of the colonists with the mission helped them to do so, for they had labor for many at the larger stations. These laboring Kaffirs also often changed their place of abode, and there was on the whole only a small permanent population at the stations. Among the Zulus there was in addition this circumstance, that this poor people could come to no quiet development. For years at a time they would be agitated by bloody wars. Yet King Umpanda and, at first, also his son Cetewayo, were not hostilely disposed, so that the missionaries did not have to suffer directly from hostilities at this first period. There could not be, however, much thought of spiritual activity among a people whose passions were constantly being fanned. "If the Zulus do not become Christians, they will become exterminated," wrote one of the missionaries.

Entrance into the independent part of Zulu-land was open to them from 1858 on. Through the intercession of Missionary Schreuder, through wise and prudent conduct, and through the various services which they had rendered to the king, (they built him houses, for example,) they received permission to establish the station of Emlalazi, which was followed in 1859 by the stations Inyezane and Emonjini. In the same year they were permitted to enter the land of the Bechuanas, which lies somewhat farther north. And so, when the next company of twelve colonists and twelve missionaries came to Africa, the Lord gave them a large field of labor. They were called to the Bechuanas by the Dutch government. The land of this people lies a journey of about thirty days from Hermannsburg, on the other side of the Drakenberg Mountains. Their neighbors are the Dutch Boers, on whom

they are partly dependent. The natives became involved in a bloody war with the Boers, who came off victorious. Since the Dutch supposed that the English missionaries had supplied the Bechuanas with weapons and powder, the latter had to leave the country. But the Boers did not wish to destroy the mission in that way. In 1858 they asked the missionaries at Hermannsburg to revive the mission among the Bechuanas, and, because King Setchele also asked them to come, they consented in God's name. Setchele had already been baptized by Livingstone, who had worked as a missionary at Kolobeng. He had to give up his missionary work at the same time as the other English. In consequence of this, he took his staff in his hand, and became the great discoverer and path-maker for the missions in Africa. It is in this capacity that the pages of history preserve his glorious memory. The first station was established in the territory of Setchele, and it prospered greatly. Soon afterwards, two other stations were established, Linokena in the territory of Chief Moiloe, and Lekoyo in the territory of Chief Sokhome. Missionaries Schröder, Backeberg, Schulenburg, and Zimmermann, and two colonists labored at these three stations. Soon they had the joy of being permitted to baptize the first heathen. The people came freely, and the school which they opened, justified their fairest hopes. The people were filled with a strong desire for salvation, and had great confidence in the missionaries. External relations were very favorable for the work of the mission, since the Bechuanas are not scattered about, but often live together in large districts, to the number of thousands. The people were also naturally impressed by the fact that King Setchele openly supported the missionaries. "He is like a brother to us," is said in one letter. But ah! how often in the spring there comes upon a field a heavy frost, and that not seldom from a quarter from which we have least expected it!

It seemed to Pastor Harms necessary for the African mission to have a local head under whom it might be unified, as it spread more and more, and by whom it might be or-

ganized and directed. Harms saw that an experienced missionary who was also well trained in theology was needed for this work, and called Missionary August Hardeland, who had already worked on the island of Borneo, and who seemed well fitted for the direction of affairs because of his fearless courage and his energy. In the year 1860 he took the superintendency. The missionaries in Natal recognized him as their superior at a conference, and those in Zulu-land by a written declaration. The missionaries to the Bechuanas, however, refused obedience. They said that they wished to be free men. Since all persuasions on the part of the other missionaries and all admonitions of their superiors remained without result, they were removed from their offices. Unfortunately their stations were lost at the same time. Only Limokena could be won back afterwards. Why these stations were not at once supplied with other missionaries and by that means kept, is inexplicable to us. Superintendent Hardeland took up the work of organization with great zeal. On his difficult and dangerous journeys he became acquainted with the territory of the mission; examined the ground; studied the people; came into personal communication with the English officials, with the Dutch government, with Umpanda, Cetewayo, and various under-chiefs; chose proper sites and had new stations erected on them. He tried then to relieve the missionaries, as much as possible, of external labors, and to extend their theological training. Much was accomplished at their conferences. Although some of the missionaries sought to withdraw from his influence, others, and among them Hohls and Wendland, gave open expression to their recognition of Hardeland. Missionary Wendland, who had worked in India in the service of the Leipzig Missionary Society, and whose work in Africa, in the service of the Hermannsburg Missionary Society was rich in blessings, although unfortunately of brief duration, begged Harms not to give credence to the many disagreeable reports about the superintendent. In Wendland's opinion he was the right man, and without him the mission there would have gone to pieces.

Nevertheless, it appears that on the whole, there was no intimate relationship between Hardeland and the missionaries. Because his health was, moreover, broken down, he gave up his office in 1864, after he had trained Missionary Hohls to be his successor and had made the most capable of the missionaries assistant-superintendents. His work had been a great blessing for the Hermannsburg mission. It was the right time when he came to Africa; but it was perhaps also the right time when he went away again. Karl Hohls took the superintendency after him.

Meanwhile the number of missionaries had increased greatly, and several new stations could be established: in Natal, Müden in 1859, Emlanghane in 1861, Neu-Hannover in 1862 (where German colonists lived), Empangweni and Emakabalen in 1863; Northern Zulu-land, Enlongane in 1861, Itaka, Emyati, and Ehlamohlomo in 1862; in Southern Zulu-land, Endlangubo in 1863; and on the Umpongolo, the stations of Entombe and Ekombela, 1862. In the year 1864 the Lord again opened to them in a most unexpected way the door into the country of the Bechuanas. And as the missionaries from Hermannsburg came into the country again from another side, God brought their apostate brethren back to them. Schulenburg had turned back before this and had been taken to Hermannsburg by Hardeland, in order that he might prove his trustworthiness there, and he did prove it. Schröder had died in 1862, Backeberg and Zimmermann gave up their station, made themselves of assistance to the other missionaries, and could soon be used in the service of the Hermannsburg Society. The station Linokena was taken possession of at once. It was a cause of regret that the prosperous station in the territory of Setchele could not be won back. The Hermannsburg missionaries had, it is true, received from President Prātorius the positive declaration that the Dutch government would not allow English missionaries among the Bechuanas; but the king's brother, Khosilizi, who had greater influence over the Bakweinas than Setchele himself, and who was still a heathen, made the restoration of

the station impossible. In a great assembly under the leadership of this brother the people declared that they wished to have English missionaries, and those from Hermannsburg were compelled to leave at once. Setchele rode after them and declared that he was much distressed at the occurrence, but was unfortunately not able to keep them against the will of his people. Missionary Behrens, who had been appointed inspector, settled among the Mamagales and founded the station of Bethanien; this became now the heart of the mission among the Bechuanas. A youth of this race had, about thirty years before, been taken captive by the Zulus and afterwards by the Boers, among whom he was instructed by an English missionary and baptized under the name of David. After he was set free, he confessed the name of his Saviour in his home and gathered a little group of believers about him. They had longed greatly for a missionary. Then God led the missionaries from Hermannsburg into their midst. Superintendent Hohls reports:—

We had a day of joy, such as I had not before experienced in all my stay in Africa. The people were hungering and thirsting for God's word, without having ever had a missionary among them. For years they had prayed to God for a missionary, who might make God's word known unto them. It was in the evening twilight when we came to them. Would that I could describe the great rejoicing among them when they heard that Missionary Behrens would come to them, would live among them, and would be their shepherd and pastor. Then they exclaimed aloud, weeping for joy and thankfulness: "See, see, God has remembered us in mercy! O, this happy day!" They exclaimed thus time and again, till it seemed as if they would never cease. Should we have kept back our tears of joy and thankfulness?

Behrens could soon baptize twenty adults and twenty-two children, and thirty-one others were already asking for instruction preparatory to baptism. Their numbers grew rapidly; they separated from the heathen soon and built little houses round about the church, and so there arose a Christian village with neat houses and blooming gardens, which was given the name of Bethanien. In quick succession were established the stations Limao in 1864, Matlara, Pata Letshopa, and Rūstenburg in 1865, where

also the missionaries had similar gracious experiences. If the missions in Natal and Zulu-land were seed among thorns and thistles, and a labor of tears, the reports from the Bechuanas were the cup of joy which the Lord had poured out for his faithful servants, Louis Harms, the missionaries, and all those interested in the missions. Thus the missions in Africa had begun a course of blessed development.

At this time Missionary Grønning wrote to Harms from Rajahmundry in Eastern India, that he had been given up by the Lutheran Missionary Society of America on account of the civil war. He begged, therefore, most earnestly to be permitted to continue at his station under the direction of the Hermannsburg Society. At the same time Harms received a letter from Pastor Mylius, of the Frederikenstift in Hannover, in which the latter placed himself at his disposition for missionary service, and especially for service in India, where he had already worked as a missionary. Harms recognized this coincidence as a sign from the Lord, agreed to it with joy, and sent Pastor Mylius to the Telegus, in whose territory Rajahmundry lay. The needs of the German emigrants in America and Australia lay heavily on the heart of Harms, and he took steps to send missionaries to these countries also. And so to the blossoms of the African mission were added other buds. Then God put an end to the labors of his faithful servant. "Woe is me, if I outlive my strength! I pray only that he may permit me to preach so long as I live." Thus he had spoken once, and thus it came to pass. Even in the greatest bodily pain he had not failed to preach, except on the Sunday before his death. His exhausting labors and the struggles of his latter years against the last revival of Rationalism, and against the power of unbelief, which had shown itself in the opposition to the new catechism introduced by the pious king, George V.—all these had fully consumed his strength. He had stood firm as a hero midst the raging waves, and the faithful had gathered round about him. But other tempests were

threatening—then he was taken away before the calamity came. He died of heart disease and dropsy on November 14, 1865, and was buried on November 17, amidst general sorrow.

Here the history of the first period of the Hermannsburg Missionary Society ends. It was the time of its germination. Its growth proved that it was no human work, but came from on high, that it was born of God. The Father made himself known to his child, and led him His way, which was often not the way of men's thoughts, but was always the way of salvation for Christian and for heathen.

Statement of the condition of the Hermannsburg Missions at the death of Louis Harms.

District.	Station.	Year of founding.	No. of missionaries.	No. of baptized heathen.
I. Natal	Hermannsburg.....	1854	4	36
	Etembeni.....	1856	2	45
	Ehlanzeni.....	1856	1	
	Müden.....	1859	1	6
	Emlongane.....	1861	1	
	Neu-Hannover.....	1862	1	13
	Empangweni.....	1863	1	1
	Emakabalení.....	1863	1	
II. Northern Zulu-land	Enlongane.....	1861	2	
	Entombe.....	1861	1	
	Itaka.....	1862	1	
	Emyati.....	1862	2	
	Ehlanohlomo.....	1862	1	
	Ekombela.....	1862	1	2
III. Southern Zulu-land	Emlalazi.....	1858	1	4
	Inyezane.....	1859	1	3
	Emonjini.....	1861	2	1
	Endlangubo.....	1863	1	1
IV. Land of the Bechuanas	Linokena.....	1858 (64)	2	55
	Limao.....	1864	1	
	Bethanien.....	1864	2	115
	Pata Letschopa.....	1865	1	
	Matlara.....	1865	1	
	Rüstenburg.....	1865		
Total	24		31	282

[To be continued.]